

The Economy Observer

Has demonetization led to higher digital payments?

Doubtful; ATM cash withdrawals back to pre-demonetization levels

- One of the key structural benefits expected from the historic demonetization announced in November 2016 was a shift towards digital payments. However, the aggregate value of all transactions under electronic payment systems (EPS) has failed to witness significant increase even six months post demonetization.
- Further, while the value of transactions in retail digital modes (PoS, PPIs, IMPS and UPI) increased sharply in December 2016, it has stabilized at higher levels since then (up to May 2017). Similarly, while the volume of retail digital transactions doubled by December 2016, there are no new net additions since then.
- Finally, after falling by more than 60% in the last months of 2016, cash withdrawals from ATMs have moved back to pre-demonetization levels. All these data points raise doubts over the desired structural shift towards digital payments post demonetization.

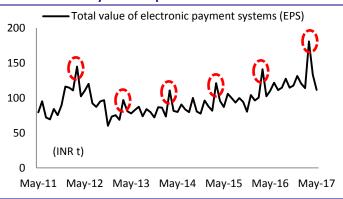
Demonetization was seen as a boost to digital payments, since ~90% of transactions were believed to be taking place in 'cash'. Eventually, digitalization was expected to help reduce tax evasion and corruption. However, available/estimated data up to May 2017 raises doubts over the increased digitalization in the economy.

The total value of all transactions under EPS (electronic payment system) has been broadly unchanged since demonetization, barring a seasonal spike in March 2017

What do the aggregate numbers tell us?

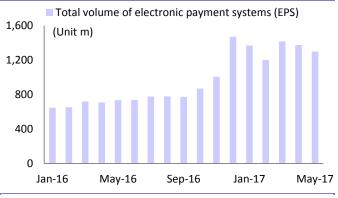
One of the crudest ways to find out if digitalization has increased is to analyze the aggregate value of transactions under electronic payments system (EPS) released on weekly/monthly basis by the Reserve Bank of India (RBI). The total value of transactions under EPS [consisting of eight (8) modes: Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS), National Electronic Funds Transfer (NEFT), Cheque Truncation System (CTS), Immediate Payment Service (IMPS), National Automated Clearing House (NACH), Unified Payments Interface (UPI), Debit/Credit Cards at Points of Sale (POS), and Prepaid Payment Instruments (PPIs)) has been broadly unchanged since demonetization (*Exhibit 1*). The spike in March 2017 could be explained as seasonal. However, the volume of transactions has witnessed a durable increase (*Exhibit 2*), implying a significant fall in the value per transaction.

Exhibit 1: Aggregate value of all digital payment transactions didn't witness any increase post demonetization...



Combined value of POS, PPIs, IMPS, RTGS, NEFT, UPI, CTS and NACH

Exhibit 2: ... however, total volume of digital payments has stabilized at higher level



Source: Reserve Bank of India (RBI), CEIC, MoSL

Nikhil Gupta (Nikhil.Gupta@MotilalOswal.com); +91 22 3982 5405

Madhurima Chowdhury (Madhurima.Chowdhury@motilaloswal.com)



Exhibit 3: Value of total transactions using various digital channels (INR b)

INRb	RTGS	NEFT	CTS	IMPS	NACH	POS ^{1,2}	PPIs ¹	UPI	Total
Jan-16	82,660	7,087	5,546	166	441	358	49	n/a	96,306
Feb-16	86,728	7,279	5,601	170	384	336	50	n/a	100,546
Mar-16	122,784	10,226	6,929	199	555	362	57	n/a	141,111
Apr-16	86,459	8,325	6,258	210	585	375	47	n/a	102,259
May-16	95,526	7,733	5,785	216	570	405	50	n/a	110,285
Jun-16	106,101	8,815	5,734	237	557	395	53	n/a	121,893
Jul-16	96,016	8,145	5,717	251	634	414	53	n/a	111,231
Aug-16	98,592	8,764	5,925	268	682	441	56	n/a	114,728
Sep-16	110,564	9,880	5,737	289	590	401	56	n/a	127,518
Oct-16	97,554	9,505	5,974	344	768	519	60	n/a	114,724
Nov-16	101,894	8,808	5,419	325	675	587	51	1	117,761
Dec-16	11,0980	11,538	6,812	432	699	892	98	7	131,458
Jan-17	100,603	11,355	6,618	491	601	817	110	17	120,612
Feb-17	95,267	10,878	5,994	482	654	645	96	19	114,035
Mar-17	154,095	16,295	8,063	565	899	691	107	24	180,738
Apr-17	111,744	12,156	6,991	562	972	706	104	22	133,256
May-17 ¹	90,171	12,411	6,746	586	744	751	115	28	111,551

¹ Extrapolated RBI's representative data

Source: Reserve Bank of India (RBI), CEIC, Compiled by MoSL

19 June 2017

² Debit + Credit cards usage at POS machines; RTGS = Real Time Gross Settlement; NEFT = National Electronic Funds Transfer;

CTS = Cheque Truncation System; IMPS = Immediate Payment Services; NACH = National Automated Clearing House; POS = Point Of Sale; PPI = Prepaid payment instrument; UPI = Unified payment instrument



The aggregate value of consumer digital transactions has been broadly unchanged in the past six months

Value of digital retail transactions has stabilized at higher level...

The total value of digital retail transactions (from four modes –POS, PPIs, IMPS and UPI) increased from less than INR500b in mid-2015 to ~INR750b by August 2016 – implying a growth of more than 50% (*Exhibit 4*). With high-value note ban in November 2016, retail digital transactions got a one-time boost in December 2016 and crossed INR1,400b. However, the aggregate value of transactions has stagnated since then, with total value at INR1,479b in May 2017 (*Exhibit 5*).

Exhibit 4: Retail digital payments got a one-time exceptional boost immediately post demonetization...

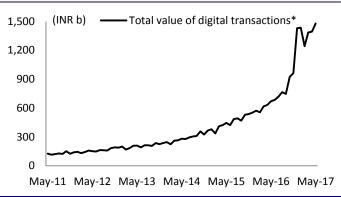
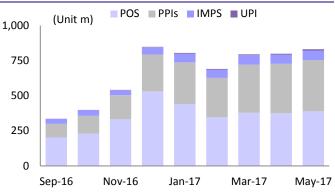


Exhibit 5: ... however, total value has stabilized at higher level since then



Source: Reserve Bank of India (RBI), CEIC, MoSL

* Aggregate value of POS, PPIs, IMPS and UPI

With cash crunch easing post-December 2016, there has not been any net addition to total volume of transactions on countrywide basis

...and the volume has stagnated after doubling by December 2016

Similarly, total number of transactions (txn) almost trebled from 300m in mid-2016 to its peak of 847m in December 2016. In May 2017, total transactions are estimated to be 830m (*Exhibit 6*). It implies that with cash crunch easing post-December 2016, there has not been any net addition to total volume of transactions on country-wide basis.

A look at the four modes of digital transactions covered in this study reveals that PPIs (including mobile wallets such as Paytm, MobiKwik, etc) have witnessed the highest growth in business (*Exhibit 6*). While POS and IMPS transactions increased 70% and 58% since November 2016, PPI transactions increased by ~190%. In other words, PPI transactions, which were less than half of POS transactions predemonetization, were 94% of POS transactions in April-May 2017.

Exhibit 6: Total number of transactions struggling to increase above 850m...

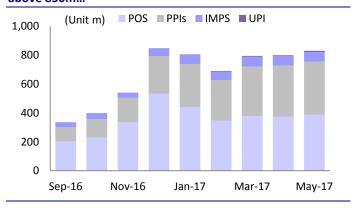
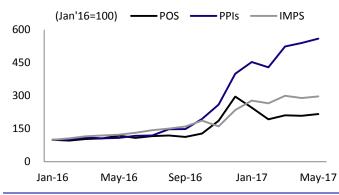


Exhibit 7: ...however, PPIs have seen their business growing multi-fold



Source: RBI, MoSL

19 June 2017 3

[#] All other modes such as RTGS, NEFT, CTS and NACH include corporate/interbank transactions rather than retail transactions



Value per transaction also stable at lower level

PPIs received a huge boost because of small-value transactions. While PPI transactions were 94% of POS transactions, the value of PPI transactions was only 15% of the value of POS transactions in 2017 – not significantly different from predemonetization period. Not surprisingly then, the value per transaction for PPIs almost halved from INR600/txn in the pre-demonetization period to about INR300/txn now. On the other hand, while the value/txn for cards usage (at POS) was broadly unchanged, it increased marginally for IMPS. On aggregate basis, the value/txn has fallen from INR2,200 in the pre-demonetization to about INR1,800/txn during demonetization and has stayed there in 2017 (Exhibit 8).

Moreover, the value of transactions per day has also been broadly unchanged at the higher level in the past six months (*Exhibit 9*).

Exhibit 8: The amount per retail transaction has stabilized at lower level since demonetization...

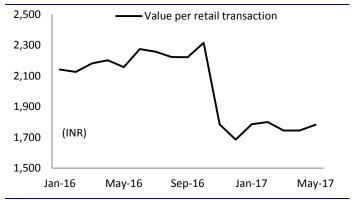
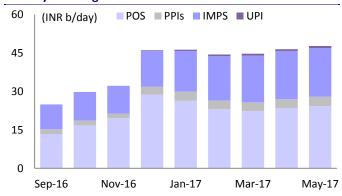


Exhibit 9: ...and value of transactions per day has also been broadly unchanged



Source: RBI, CEIC, MoSL

Aggregate value of POS, PPIs, IMPS and UPI

ATM cash withdrawals back to pre-demonetization level

Although the value and number of digital transactions have remained broadly unchanged over the past six months, the amount of cash withdrawals from Automated Teller Machines (ATMs) has converged with the pre-demonetization period.

With cash crunch easing, ATM cash withdrawal has moved back to INR72b per day, matching the predemonetization levels As high-denomination currency notes ceased to be legal tender, ATMs dried across the country. Not surprisingly then, the amount of ATM cash withdrawals fell from more than INR70b per day before demonetization to only INR27b in December 2016. Nevertheless, with cash crunch easing, ATM cash withdrawal has moved back to INR72b per day, matching the pre-demonetization levels (*Exhibit 10*). Further, with policy makers capping the cash withdrawal at INR2,000 per transaction, after dipping towards INR1,348/txn, the amount of ATM cash withdrawal has crossed INR3,000/txn – similar to pre-demonetization level (*Exhibit 11*).

19 June 2017



Exhibit 10: ATM cash withdrawals per day back to predemonetization levels...

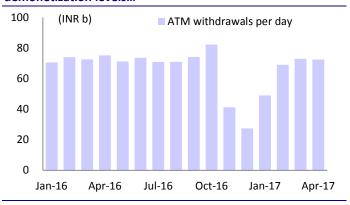
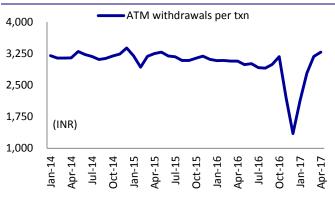


Exhibit 11: ...same as the amount of ATM withdrawal per transaction



Source: RBI, MoSL

Using debit and credit cards

Is the share of non-cash transactions falling?

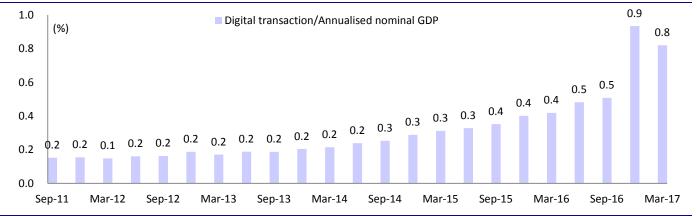
Although the amount of digital transactions almost doubled during the demonetization period, they have remained broadly unchanged in 2017, which questions the structural shift towards higher digitization in the economy

Ideally, with a movement as historic as demonetization, only a consistent increase in digital transactions would have pointed towards its success. Although the amount of digital transactions almost doubled during the demonetization period (our database is not exhaustive), they have remained broadly unchanged in 2017, which questions the structural shift towards higher digitization in the economy. With the economic activity actually rising every month in nominal terms (barring seasonal variation), the share of digital transactions – as measured by the three modes covered in our study – peaked out in December 2016.

Due to demonetization, the share of digital transactions increased from 0.51% in GDP in 2QFY17 to 0.93% in 3QFY17 but eased to 0.82% in 4QFY17 We look at the aggregate value of digital transactions by these three modes in comparison to nominal GDP (Exhibit12). Due to demonetization, the share of digital transactions increased from 0.51% in GDP in 2QFY17 (quarter ending September 2016) to 0.93% in 3QFY17 but eased to 0.82% in 4QFY17.

One could argue that even 0.82% is much higher than what it would have been without demonetization; however, considering such low base and the extent of the historic movement, we believe that the fall in the share of digitization (using limited database) so early is not encouraging.

Exhibit 12: Share of retail digital payments* in final consumption expenditure (%)



^{*} Aggregate value of POS, PPIs, IMPS and UPI

Source: RBI, CEIC, MoSL

19 June 2017 5

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Varun Kumar

Varun.kumar@motilaloswal.com Contact: (+65) 68189232

Office Address:21 (Suite 31),16 Collyer Quay,Singapore 04931

